/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

526 Besides these games, wrestling is greatly enjoyed by the
• [178] boys. Youths and young men no longer wrestle. On the occasion of the festivals, however, when they have drunk a little, the young men hit each other on their bodies, with arm outstretched, with the hand or fist. Several of them form an irregular circle, but without taking sides, and each tries to hit the other from behind.

524 The girls play with dolls (ločinyi) about 20 centimeters high, which they make themselves out of wood and remnants of cloth. It is remarkable that these dolls do not represent children, but adults fully dressed. /189/ A doll man, for example, consists of a forked stick, the longer part of which represents the body, and the forks, the legs. A cross-stick tied on indicates the shoulders. The clothing consists of a man's shirt, which is tied and "fitted" at the height of the hips with an agave string. A rectangular piece of cloth with a horizontal hole in the center is drawn over it as a ruana. A face is not indicated on either the male or the female doll. The doll woman consists of only a straight rod, around the lower part of which a piece of cloth is wrapped as a skirt and tied with a red thread as a belt. On her back the woman carries a child, represented by a small piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is fastened around the child with a red thread in the way children are wrapped. The doll woman carries her child wrapped in the large shawl, which is held fast by a red thread which serves as the belt.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yăhaleckwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/190 cont./ The girl

595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/192 cont./
581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

1: Nachtigall--145 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia": Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/255 cont./
902 designated as "much" (tec kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
● [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 286 171 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp," a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were [621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized [565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for [463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father [464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if [476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal, [178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least [851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the [533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

4tBernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] [179] [177] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 796 182 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feeling. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 793 718 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry

* /221 cont./

756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
787 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/. /222/ from whom the
● [178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/316/

105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
● 178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the tẽ eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/343 cont./

462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic [241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men [178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes
Ceramics	yes or	yes

28. Rarely.

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
● [178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

●178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

● [178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] [433] [273] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] [273] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 [177] **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—[illegible] (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 [415] [177] **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

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civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguez*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk. 178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights 764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

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535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

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cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]